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Approved For Release 2003/12/22 : CIA-RDP82-00457R005900780012-3

INFORMATION REPORT  
CONFIDENTIAL

CD NO.

COUNTRY Spain/France

DATE DISTR. 9 OCT 50

SUBJECT      Structure of the Communist Party of Spain  
                 in France

NO. OF PAGES 7

NO. OF ENCLS.  
(LISTED BELOW)

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SUPPLEMENT TO  
REPORT NO.

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1. The organizational structure of the Communist Party of Spain (CPS), while fundamentally similar to standard Party organization in other countries, is necessarily modified in that (1) in Spain, whatever illegal activity it may carry on is a specific target for the Regime's security police, and the Party must function through small, isolated "guerrilla" bands and clandestine propaganda; and (2) in France, as a party in exile, its strength is concentrated in Spanish refugee centers, subject to control by French authorities. A further organizational problem in the case of the CPS lies in the existence of three traditional regional subdivisions: (1) Catalonia; (2) the Basque countries; and (3) Galicia.
2. On the national level, the CPS in France is directed by a "Super Political Bureau", the Political Bureau and the Central Committee, with headquarters in Paris. The "Super Political Bureau", established in early 1948 by action of the last Party congress, was created to handle general Party problems concerning Spain and its regions. In May, 1950 it was composed of the following individuals:

Dolores IBARRURI (President)  
Vicente URIBE Galdeano  
Francisco ANTON Sanz  
Antonio MIJE Garcia  
Santiago CARRILLO Solares  
Irene FALCON  
Felipe Maria ARCONADA (representative of the CPS in Mexico)\*  
Enrique LISTER Forjan (representative of Galician Communists)  
Rafael VIDIELLA (Partido Socialista Unificado de Catalunya)  
Jose LOIX Regas (PSUC)  
Leandro CARRO Hernaez (Partido Comunista de Euzkadi -- Dasque CP)

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The Political Bureau consisted of the above individuals, with the addition of:

Fernando CLAUDIN Jareno  
Juan MODESTO Guilloto  
Luis FERNANDEZ Juan

The above members of the "Super Political Bureau" and the Political Bureau were, in turn, members of the Central Committee, which also included the following:

Luis DELAGE  
Esteban VEGA Delinchon  
Angel ALVAREZ Perez  
Miguel SORIANO  
Sergio GONZALEZ  
Luis CORTES  
Ignacio HIDALGO de Cisneros  
Antonio CORDON Garcia  
Jesus IZCARAY  
Tomas GARCIA Camidio  
Ignacio GALLEGO Bezales/  
Federico MELCHOR - - - / Reportedly in charge of Communist Youth,  
Wenceslao COLOMER - - - / Spain, Catalonia and Basque countries  
Manuel CUESTA Francisco  
Enrique de SANTIAGO (UGT)  
Ricardo GRANDA (UGT)  
Manuel CRISTOBAL Errandonea (Basque CP)  
Elisa URIZ (Injeres Espanolas)

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[redacted] most of the members of the Central Committee fulfill various duties outside of Paris, acting, for example, as regional leaders in charge of organization, propaganda, youth, labor or liaison with Spain and Andorra.

3. On a regional level, the CPS in France is divided into six areas, each having its own "general staff". [redacted] did not identify all of these regions, but said that the Southwest area along the Pyrenees frontier far outweighed any other area in importance, inasmuch as (1) it is closest to Spain, and contains the greatest concentration of Spanish refugee elements; and (2) its mountainous terrain and comparative isolation grant greater leeway for Party activities. For this reason, the Pyrenees area provides the best example of CPS organization in France [redacted]

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4. The Southwest region of the CPS corresponds roughly to the French Fifth Military Region, i.e. including all departments south of a line drawn through the cities of Bordeaux, Montauban and Beziers. Its center is Toulouse, capital of the Department of Haute Garonne. The Party regional committee for this area, in May, 1950, was reportedly composed of the following individuals:

Antonio MIJE, Political Secretary  
Angel ALVAREZ Pena, Assistant Political Secretary  
Miguel SORIANO, Secretary of Organization  
Miguel Angel SANZ Cruz, Military Secretary

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Under the direction of the regional committee are the various departmental committees, the most important of which, in the case of this region, is the committee for Haute Garonne:

Julio LUCAS, Secretary General  
 Avelino NIETO Torno, Treasurer  
 Juan CASTRO, Propaganda Secretary  
 Jaime NIETO, Assistant Propaganda Secretary  
 Ricardo CAMION, Assistant Propaganda Secretary  
 Eugenio ORDEIX, Secretary for Catalan (PSUC) Affairs  
 Eduardo QUEVEDO Ruiz, Secretary for Basque Affairs

Headquarters of the Departmental Committee for Haute Garonne are in Toulouse, at 36, Allee Jean Jaures, also used by the Communist Party of France. Under the Departmental Committee the Party is divided into urban and rural sections, the urban section of Toulouse being the most developed.

5. In Toulouse, the CPS is divided into four "radios", each with its own responsible officers, as follows (for May, 1950):

Radio	Political Secretary	Propaganda Secretary	Press Secretary
North	Roberto CASAS	Francisco COMTE	Luis MORILLO
South	Leon CALLES	Domingo BORRAS	Jose TORALLES
East	Ismael SIS-IEGA	Juan SORIANO	Augusto NURIA
West	Pedro FIGUERAS	Jose CARAVACA	Anton ALUCC

Under the "radios" are grouped the cells, with from six to ten cells per "radio". It is estimated that there were some thirty cells of the CPS in Toulouse in May, 1950, including the following:

Cell	Number of Members	Responsible Officer
Barcelona	17	Salvador BARGALLO
Boix	18	M. NAVARRO
Cortada	30	Jose CARAVACA
Casadeval	11	Jose CAPDEVILA
Cusso	12	Jose FORTORELL
Carrillo	22	Enrique PUIGGOTTER
Dolores Ibarriuri	27	Pedro SEGURA
Fusimanya	25	Vicente MEDINA
Garrido	17	Eugenio ORDEIX
Jeze	22	Francisco DOMENECCH
Matas	21	Bertomeu CUEVA
Odena	21	Afeli TORRUEJA
Puig	17	Jose ALONSO
Estanislao Rubies	11	Angel COCA
Serrats	18	Ernesto CADESTRES
Serveto	26	Leon CALLES
Vitini	30	Juan PONT

Each urban cell, named after a Spanish city or a Party leader, has its own small committee, consisting of secretaries of political matters, propaganda and press.

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6. In rural areas of the Department of Haute Garonne the cells are directly under the Departmental Committee, and are generally named for the localities in which they were established. [redacted]

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[redacted] that among these cells were:

<u>Cell</u>	<u>Number of Members</u>	<u>Responsible Officer</u>
Carbonne	11	Jose MASPERRE
Fonsorbes	12	Pedro ROYO
Fronton	7	Jose CARRERAS
Juzet d'Izaut	63	Roberto DIAZ
Lardenne	22	Francisco ROSALES
Iuchon	25	Francisco SINGLA
Ihuret	22	Sebastian MITJANA
Portet	23	Placido TALAVERA
Revel	21	Francisco LLADO
Salies du Salat	17	Javier TORO
Sauveterre	15	F. TORRES
Saint-Gaudens	35	Jose VIDALES
Saint-Lys	9	Juan RIBES
Tournefeuille	17	Jose FIGUERAS

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7. [redacted] in some areas (particularly the eastern and western regions) with minor Communist representation, one committee on the departmental level might actually handle Spanish Communist matters for several French departments. [redacted] in all, there are 55 departmental committees of the Spanish Communist Party in France, and three in North Africa\*\*.

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8. [redacted] the existence of a CPS military organization in France. The CPS Political Bureau has been described above as being composed of the members of the "Super Political Bureau" and Fernando CLAUDIN Jareno, Juan MODESTO Guilloto, and Luis FERNANDEZ Juan, who are leading military figures within the Party. [redacted] the Military Section of the CPS within the Political Bureau and Central Committee was as follows in May, 1950:

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Leor Juan MODESTO Guilloto, General of the Red Army  
 Enrique LISTER Forjan, General of the Red Army  
 Ignacio HIDALGO de Cisneros (General)  
 Luis FERNANDEZ Juan

The above, acting in the name of the CPS, had under them the members of the Military Estado Mayor, or General Staff of the Party, which was composed of the following individuals:

Commander in Chief: Antonio CORDON Garcia  
 Chief of Staff: Juan BLAZQUEZ Arroyo  
 Chief of Operations: Jose GARCIA Acevedo  
 Technical Advisor: Fernando CLAUDIN Jareno

The CPS reportedly has, in addition to the above staff, a "Military Investigation Service", headed by LISTER and BLAZQUEZ\*\*\* (May, 1950), using also the services of Jose Luis FUENTES Barrios.

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9. Under the Estado Mayor, with headquarters in Paris, is a regional staff based in Toulouse, Haute Garonne, covering the area included in the French Fifth Military Region (see above). The Commanding Officer for the Pyrenees area in May, 1950, [redacted] was Miguel Angel SAIZ Cruz, residing at 134, Faubourg Bonnelroy, Toulouse. SAIZ' aide was Rafael MARTINEZ Sidoach, residing at [redacted], rue Matabiau, Toulouse.

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10. The military staff in Toulouse, in turn, is in charge of three different sections within the Pyrenees region:

(1) The West Pyrenees Section, including the cities of Bordeaux, Mont de Marsan, Bayonne and Oloron (departments of Landes, Gironde, Basses Pyrenees);

(2) Central Pyrenees, including Toulouse, Montauban, Pamiers, and Auch (departments of Haute Garonne, Tarn-et-Garonne, Ariège and part of Gers);

(3) East Pyrenees, including Beziers, Narbonne, Sete, Perpignan, and Prades.

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[redacted] a fourth section, consisting of Lot-et-Garonne, Hautes Pyrenees, and the remainder of Gers, has been omitted, perhaps because of especially poor communications in that area, but [redacted] the existence of "agitation" committees in Agen (Lot-et-Garonne) and Tarbes (Hautes Pyrenees).

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11. Within these fairly broad divisions, [redacted] the existence of sub-commissions on a departmental level, although no further details were given as to their composition. [redacted]

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[redacted] the following list of towns in the Pyrenees area, indicating the presence of political and "agitation" committees as well as military:

<u>Military Committees</u>	<u>Political Committees</u>	<u>"Agitation" Committees</u>
Toulouse	Toulouse	Montauban
Montauban	Pamiers	Agen
Pamiers	Foix	Albi
Auch	Auch	Carmaux
Bordeaux	Bordeaux	Decazeville
Mont de Marsan	Mont de Marsan	Beziers
Bayonne	Bayonne	Carcassonne
Oloron	Beziers	Saint-Gaudens
Beziers	Narbonne	Tarbes
Narbonne	Perpignan	Pau
Sete	Sete	Dax
Perpignan		
Prades		

12. The military departmental committees, in turn, direct the cells. While the cell itself is not a combat team, it is the basic source for the formation of "shock troops", guerrilla forces, "troikas", and so forth. Each Party militant, although he may not be aware of it, has been assigned a military position in keeping with his capabilities, and will be called upon when the necessity for action arises.

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13. When and if such an event occurs, in the case of a general strike, international war, or any other emergency calling for concerted Communist military action, the CPS reportedly plans to establish two directing bodies: first, the emergency military commission ("disponible"), and later the provisional military commission.

(1) The Emergency Commission

The basic combat unit for initial Communist mobilization is the "troika", composed of three men (as in the Spanish Civil War). Militants for the troikas are recruited from the cells. Three troikas form a platoon (peloton), headed by a platoon chief. Three platoons form a section. According to the size and importance of the local cell, the responsible officer within the cell may be called a "Section Chief". Above the rank of Section Chief, however, officers are named by the Estado Mayor of the CPS, with the approval of the Central Committee.

The main duty of these forces is to gain control of the Pyrenees area, if only temporarily, closing the frontier to cut off the escape of the Party's enemies into Spain, and destroying the enemy's transportation and communication facilities. During this initial period, while the main Communist forces are being mobilized, the direction of the "shock troops" described above is in the hands of the Emergency Commission; within a short time, possibly a few days according to CPS calculations, its duties are to be taken over by the Provisionary Commission.

(2) The Provisionary Commission (set up by the Estado Mayor)

The basic combat unit under this plan is the "mano", of five men, led by a "mano" chief. These units are recruited on a departmental basis. Three groups of five form a platoon, with a platoon chief. Ten platoons, or a total of 150 men, form a company, which must be headed by a Party military leader of long standing, who has gained his experience in the Spanish Civil War, the French Resistance, or through training in Army cadre schools.

In addition to these formations, in which all Communists are supposed to take part, are special "shock teams", formed of the most trustworthy elements, for carrying out special missions. A special unit of this type may consist of ten to fifteen men, according to the mission assigned, and is to be led by an experienced officer. It might be termed, [redacted] a "commando" force.

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Above the company level, CPS forces are to become merged with other Communist forces in France, under the direction of the General Communist Military Staff for France, of which the Estado Mayor of the CPS forms only a section.

14. Liaison with non-Spanish Communist elements, [redacted] is an important part of Communist military projects for France. [redacted] noted that the CPS is none too confident of its militants' military prowess, particularly in the case of those recruited since the Civil War and the Occupation of France, and relies more on tried "guerrilla"

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fighters and members of the Franc Tireurs et Partisans Francais, a pro-Communist group formed in the days of the French Resistance.

[redacted] collaboration between Spanish and French Communist elements can be seen in the CPS' use of FTPF headquarters in various towns throughout the Pyrenees area for its own departmental committee headquarters. Further evidence of such liaison may be seen in the reported establishment of "mixed" (civilian and military) staffs in the various towns listed above as having CPS military committees. [redacted] the "mixed" staff for Pamiers (Ariege) in May, 1950 consisted of:

Political chief: Emile DRAU  
"Agitation" chief: (fnu) CAPELA  
FTPF chief: (fnu) ETENGOS  
Guerrilla chief: Roberto ALONSO ("Comandante Robert")

Similarly, that of Toulouse was comprised of:

Political chief: Roger MARTIN (Departmental Secretary, CPF)  
"Agitation" chief: Georges BOUQUIER  
FTPF chief: Colonel RAVANEL  
Guerrilla chief: Miguel Angel SANZ Cruz

25. A number of rumors concerning the establishment of Communist cadre schools in the environs of Toulouse have been reported from time to time, and a great deal of speculation among Spanish elements was aroused by the visit of Colonel CLAUDIN, who had formerly organized such schools, to Toulouse in December 1949. Cadre schools had reportedly sprung up in the Pyrenees area (Bayonne, Pau, Oloron, Geseja, Perpignan, Foix, Carcassonne, Toulouse) after the Liberation. The school in Toulouse, however, ceased functioning in February, 1945 after the transfer of the CPS Political Bureau and Central Committee from Toulouse to Paris, and [redacted] other schools in the area met a similar fate. A Communist military group, under CLAUDIN, did remain in Haute Garonne until 1948, [redacted] and had its headquarters at 4, rue Belfort, Toulouse, but no schools were in operation.

[redacted] receipt of information to the effect that, as a result of a secret meeting of Communists in December, 1949 in Paris (including Andre MARTY, Vicente URIBE, Antonio MITE, Santiago CARRILLO, Miguel SORIANO and Angel ALVAREZ Perez), it was decided to create new cadre schools in Southwest France by March, 1950. [redacted] this decision may have motivated CLAUDIN's trip to Toulouse. No further information regarding such a meeting was received, however, and [redacted] that no cadre schools were operating in the Pyrenees area at that time.

\* ARCONADA was reportedly replaced during June, 1950 as Secretary General of the CPS in Mexico.

Comment: This breakdown of the structure of the CPS in France holds mainly for the Pyrenees area and specifically for Haute Garonne; whether such an organizational framework for the Party actually exists, other than on a theoretical basis, in the remaining areas of France is not known.

\*\*\*BLAZQUEZ has been reported to be in the bad graces of the CPS.

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